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II.—A HARVARD MANUSCRIPT OF OVID, PALLADIUS AND TACITUS.

PART I.

A fifteenth century manuscript recently acquired by Harvard University deserves the attention of classical scholars, as it contains not only several unedited humanistic works, but also certain portions of Ovid, Palladius and Tacitus which exist only in manuscripts of the fifteenth century. In a previous article¹ I have published a collation of the Ovid text (Heroides XXI 1-144) with a partial description of the manuscript. The present paper contains a more detailed description, with collations of the Palladius and Tacitus texts.

The manuscript in question, numbered L 25 is of parchment, with page size 20.3 x 13 cm. It is written in what seems Italic script, with colored capitals and intitulations. The edges are gilt. The fifteenth-century binding consists of boards covered with leather, which is stamped with various patterns of Venetian style; on either side there are brass bosses at the center and the four corners. The manuscript, which was purchased by Harvard College in 1902 from the bookseller Quaritch, was formerly in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillips of Middle Hill and Cheltenham. A brief description in his *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum* of 1837, No. 6748, states that the volume was bought of the bookseller Payne. Various of Payne's catalogues of about that date make no mention of the volume: it is doubtful whether his description, if contained in some catalogue inaccessible to me, includes any item of value. In my former article, I have tried to date the manuscript between 1455 and 1471 (the year when the *editio princeps* of Ovid appeared) on the strength of the title of Ovid's letter given in the table of contents—OVIDII · VLTIMA · EPISTOLA · NOVITER · REPERTA · This dating, I need not add, is not thereby demonstrated: still, it is at least made highly probable. In the careful account in Quaritch's catalogue,² the

¹ Transactions of the Amer. Phil. Assoc. XXXV (1904), p. 128.

² No. 211 (1902), p. 59.

manuscript is dated, I know not on what grounds, as about 1460. The most important fact omitted in Quaritch is that the volume includes two separate manuscripts; they are noted here as MS. I and MS. II. The contents of the volume are as follows:

fol. 1-4. Two *uniones*, added when MS. I and MS. II were combined. Fol. 1 is pasted to the cover. Fol. 4^v contains the following table of contents, written in capitals of the fifteenth century. The exact date, if I am right, is 1455-1471. Both MSS., naturally, were written before the date of binding.

IN · HOC · VOLUMINE · CONTINETVR · DECRETA ·
ATHENIEN · NONNVLLA · | EPISTOLA · ESCHINIS ·
AD ATHENIEN · | VIRGILII · VITA · A · LEONARDO ·
AR^o · | ESCHINIS · DEMADIS · DEMOSTHEN · ŌROES ·
| DEMOSTHENIS · EPISTOLA · AD · ALEX^v · | CORN ·
TACIT · DE · ORIGINE · ET · SITV · GEMANIE · |
BASILII · ŌRO · TRADVCTA · A LEON · AR^o · | XENO-
PHON · DE TYRANNO · A LEO · AR^o · | CŌMENTARIA ·
IMP · RO · A · FR · PETRACHĀ · | PALLADIVS · DE
ARTE · INSITIONIS · | OVIDII · EPISTOLA · NOVITER ·
REPERTA · | PHILIPPI · REGIS · EPLA · AD · ATHE-
NIEN ·

MS. I.

This manuscript consists of a single septenion. It has 22 lines to the page. The text occupies 12.2 x 6.4 cm.

fol. 5. Rynucius Poggio suo Oratori Eximio | felicitatem (*in red*) Ille Rem optimam et sibi salutarem (fol. 18). At in uita nemini datur effugere fatum. (*One line blank*) FINIS.

fol. 18.^v Blank.

An unpublished letter of Rinucci da Castiglione to Poggio, with translations of the Athenian decrees contained in the *De Corona* of Demosthenes. The letter must have been written before 1459, when Poggio died; probably before 1453, when he left Rome; and possibly much earlier still, as he was studying Greek with Rinucci as early as 1425. See Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des klass. Alterthums*, 1893, II, pp. 45, 84. The present copy might well have been made about the middle of the century.

MS. II.

This manuscript consists of ten quinions. It has 23 lines to the page; the text occupies 12.7 x 6.4 cm.

fol. 19. Rex Macedonum Philippus Atheniensium | Senatui
plebiq(ue) salutem: traducta p(er). leo.(nardum) aretinu(m) |
(*in red*).

Quoniam persepe iam legatos misi (fol. 24) diis testibus
inuocatis pro rebus meis pugnabo.

Bruni's translation (unpublished) of Philip's letter to the Athenians=De-
mosth. ed. Dindorf-Blass 1892, I pp. 182-194.

fol. 24. Eschines atromiti. s(enatui). populoq(ue) athenien(si).
sal(utem) | (*in red*). (*One line blank*).

Ego me ad rem publicam contuli (fol. 26^v) magis q(uam)
Menalopo contra nos roganti annuere.

This is the translation, likewise unpublished, of Aeschines, Epist. XII ed.
Blass 1896, pp. 311-316.

fol. 26^v. Leonardi aretini in vitam virgilij excer | ptam ex
comentarijs Seruij gramatici | (*in red*) VIRGILIUS · MARO ·
MANTVANVS | parentibus modicis fuit (fol. 32) ad sacie-
tatem maliuolor(um) cederent.

fol. 32. Eschinis oratoris ad Athenienses oratio (*in red*) (*One
line blank*). Reminiscor athenienses Alexandrum hac in nostra
urbe (32^v) sibi supplicesq(ue) inuenerit.

This and the three pieces following I have been unable to find in the works
of the authors to whom they are ascribed. They bear the stamp of unintelli-
gent school-exercises—or possibly they are Bruni's own invention.

fol. 32^v. Demadis oratoris ad Athenienses contio (*in red*)
(*One line blank*). Admirans uehementer admiror Athenien(ses)
. . . . (fol. 33) consiliis uacu(am) facilius diripiat.

fol. 33. Demosthenis oratoris ad Athenienses contio (*in red*)
(*One line blank*). Apud nos in questione uerti uideo (fol.
33^v) ne similes simus Thebanis. (*One line blank*).

Demosthenis ad Alex(andru)m macedonie regem ep(istu)la |
(*in red*) (*One line blank*). ||

fol. 34. Nihil habet Rex Alexander uel fortuna tua maius
. . . . (fol. 35^v) que hodierno die cum hec feceris consecuturus
es. Vale. (*One line blank*).

fol. 36. CORNELII · TACITI · EQVITIS · R^IO · | DE
ORIGINE ET SITV · GERMANIE | LIBER · INCIPIT ·
FELICITER · | (*in red*). Germania omnis (fol. 55) in
mediu(m) relinquam. (*two lines blank*).

fol. 55^v. Basiliij oratio de studijs secularibus traducta | per Leonardum aretinum ad coluciu(m) salutatum | (*in red*). Ego tibi hu/// librum colucci . . . (fol. 56) q(uae)so q(uan)ta grauitas sit.

Basiliij oratio incipit traducta a leonardo are- | tino ad Colucium salutatum. uirum cL(arissimu)m. (*in red*). Mvltā sunt filiiq(ue) hortantur . . . (69^v nunc recta consilia aspernantes.

This is the earliest of Bruni's translations. See Voigt op. cit. II p. 164.

Incipit prohemium Xenophontis phy(losophi) de ui | ta Tyrannica traducti a Leonardo aretino | ad NicoLaum niccolum uirum doctissimu(m). (*in red*) (*One line blank*). XENOPHONTIS PHYLOSOPHI QUĒ- | dam libellum quem ego . . . (fol. 71) nullo modo ausi sumus attingere. (*One line blank*).

Xenophontis de tyrannica uita liber incipit. (*in red*) (*One line blank*). CVM AD HYERONEM TIRANNV(M) | Symonides poeta . . . (fol. 86^v) nemo tibi inuidebit. (*One line blank*).

This too belongs in the cycle of Bruni's early translations. See Voigt op. cit. II. 165.

fol. 86^v. Commentaria imp(eratorum) rom(anorum) a Iulio Caes(are) edita p(er) | Franciscum. petrarcham usq(ue) ad t(em)p(o)ra sua. (*in red*) (*One line blank*).

(O)PTAS CLARISSIME MARCHIO HE- | roicarum cultor uirtutum . . . (fol. 108^v) nisi modicum occidentis. (*in red*) (*One line blank*).

This is Benevenutus de Rambaldis de Imola, *Liber Augustalis*, often appearing in collections of Petrarch's works, as in the Basel edition, 1581, pp. 516-530.

fol. 108^v. Palladij carmina de arte insitionis (*in red*) (*Two lines blank*).

(H) ABES · ALIVD · INDVLTE · FIDVCIE | testimonium . . . (fol. 113) rusticitate lege. FINIS. (*One line blank*).

=Palladius, Opus Agriculturae, Book XIV.

fol. 113^v. CEDIPPE · ACONTIO HEROIDVM | OVIDII · VLTIMA · EPISTOLA. | Pertimui . . . (fol. 116^v) legendus eras. (14 lines blank).

=Ovid, Heroides XXI 1-144.

fol. 117-118 *Blank*. Fol. 118^v pasted to the cover.

Palladius, Opus Agriculturae, XIV.

The most recent editor of Palladius, J. C. Schmitt (Leipzig, 1898), distinguishes three classes among the manuscripts of Book XIV, the metrical *De Insitione*. In the first and best class he places A (Vindobonensis 3198) and H (Vaticanus 5245): in the second D (Laurentianus LIII 15): in the third C (Laurentianus XLVII 24) and B (Vindobonensis 4772 saec. XVI init.). All of these are of the fifteenth century except B, and all are paper manuscripts except C, which is parchment.

Schmitt does not construct his text exclusively from AH. He recognizes that the correct reading is given by CB (with which D sometimes agrees) in several instances. For example, (I quote pages and lines from Schmitt's edition) 261, 11 *operam* for *opera*; 262, 20 *condemnabile* for *commendabile*; 264, 25 *premit* for *petunt*; 265, 18 *rubere* C for *rubore*. The title of the work, also, is doubtless preserved better in the manuscripts of the inferior family—best of all in C: PALLADII RUTILII TAURI AEMILIANI DE INSITIONE LIBER AD PASIPHILUM V. D.¹ At the same time there are traces of incorporated glosses in this class, such as 262, 16 *rustica* for *vilis* (cf. *rusticitate* in the foregoing verse): 267, 7 *mutare* for *variare*; 269, 3 *debitum* for *meritum*. An interpolation occurs in the unnecessary *potius*, 261, 11, a stupid blunder in *cetera* for *cerea* 267, 5, while *summo robore fissa capit* (for *sumunt robora fissa caput*) is an instance, it would appear, of violent and unintelligent emendation. In AH, on the other hand, I can find only one probable instance of an incorporated gloss, i. e. 265, 20 *poma* for *dona*. In the main, the mistakes in this class seem due simply to carelessness: e. g. 264, 7 *steriles pinguis* for *sterilis pingues*; 266, 14 *terret* for *terrent*; 268, 18 *permulant* for *permutat*. *Semina* for *aemula*, 266, 11, and *petunt* for *premit*, 264, 25 are more serious errors, but do not seem the result of emendation. *Commendabile* for *condemnabile*, 262, 20 might be accounted an intentional correction, were it not possible to trace the mistake to the recollection of *commendas* in verse 16. I think, therefore, that Schmitt is quite right in recognizing in AH the safer tradition and following their authority in cases subject to no other

¹ See Usener, *Anecdota Holderi* 1877, pp. 9, 15 and *Jahrbücher f. klass. Philologie, Supplementbd.* XXVI (1901) p. 446 ff.

criterion; for example, 260, 10 *servorum*, not *famulorum*; 267, 8 *sodali*, not *sorori*; 269, 17 *lege*, not *leges*.

Codex D stands midway between the two classes. The writer possibly had before him just such a glossed manuscript as that from which CB were copied, but selected from the variants with greater discrimination; or, more probably, it is the offspring of a manuscript of the AH class, more closely related to H than to A, and revised from a codex of the CB type. D has value chiefly in corroborating certain readings in H. It has no independent significance, and should not be considered as the representative of a distinct class. There are really only two classes among the manuscripts used by Schmitt—AH and CB. To Schmitt belongs the credit of discovering the former and better class; previous editors happened to follow the inferior manuscripts.

A glance at the appended collation will show that the Harvard codex¹ belongs with the better family of manuscripts. What now of its relation to the other representatives of this class? A comparison of the readings reveals a striking kinship with A, a result that might be prophesied from external features of the two texts. For as shown in the previous article, in both manuscripts the Palladius is preceded by Ovid, *Heroides* XXI 1-144, where again the texts are closely related. Now as A lacks of the *De Insitione* the introductory letters to Pasiphilus (261-263, 34), it could not have been the direct source of P. As P lacks the heading *DE SILIQUA* (267, 3) and part of the superscription of the Ovid text,² and presents peculiar mistakes³ which do not appear in A, A was not copied from P. They descend, then, from a common archetype. H represents a different branch, from which D also derives; but the testimony of D can not help much in establishing this group, since its text has borrowed so extensively from the CB family.⁴

A comparison of the two divisions of the better class shows that it would be arbitrary to give the palm of pre-eminence to either one of them. For, to neglect for the moment the readings which the united manuscripts of the better family have against the inferior, we find that AP offers the following probable errors in common. I give, first, the correct reading, contained, unless

¹ I will refer to the manuscript as P(*hilippicus*) in discussing the Palladius text, to avoid confusion with Schmitt's H.

² Transactions. Op. cit. p. 133.

³ See below p. 297.

⁴ See below, p. 298, for their common mistakes.

otherwise stated, in H (D), and then the erroneous form in AP. First, the titles should be noted. The form in H, *Palladij Rutilij Tauri aemiliani ad Pastellum de Insitione Liber*, in spite of the mistake in the proper name and its position before, not after, the names of the work, is nearer to the correct form as found in C¹ than is *Palladii Rutilii Tauri de Insitione Liber* A or *Palladij carmina de arte insitionis* P. The other errors are 263, 23 *figuntur*] *finguntur*; 24 *fissa*] *fixa*; 264, 24 *pug-nacibus*] *pugnantibus*; 265, 21 *parel*] *pares*; 23 *sudibus*] *suibus*; 27 *pruno*] *primo*; 266, 18 *pasturi*] *palustri*; 268, 2 *curua*] *cutru* A *cura* (*citra* ?) P; 19 *docet*] *decet* A *decet* (?)² P; 20 *in modicam*] *Immodicam*; 269, 2 *amygdaleos*] *amigdaleos*—twelve in all. To this list A adds ten more contributions 263, 21 *nam*] *hanc*; 22 *credita*] *credite*; 25 *tumoris*] *tumores*; 28 *Bacchi*] *bachi* H;³ 264, 1 *uitis*] *uiris*; *genus*] *gemis*; *uiuida*] *inuidia*; 265, 17 *Baccho*] *bacho* H; 266, 18 *redolentia*] *reddentia*; 268, 6 *cydonea*] *cicodena*. P's mistakes, likewise ten in number, are 262, 1 *diu*] *dici*; *pudorem meum*] *pudore meum*; 5 *nugis*] *magis*; 7 *oculos*] *oculu*; 264, 6 *feros*] *ferox*; 11 *commodat*] *commodum*; 16 *mitescere*] *nitescere*; 265, 13 *distendere*] *descendere*; 266, 16] *non ef*] *monet*; 267, 3 DE SILIQUA] *om.*; 268, 2 *suos* A] *suo*⁴ H. It will be noted that four of the mistakes in P occur in the prose introduction, which is lacking in A. With these deducted, then, P has fewer mistakes than A; they are, however, of a somewhat more serious character. We cannot, therefore, on this ground, place either manuscript before the other. The distinct superiority of the Harvard Codex is, however, apparent from the fact that it contains the introductory letters to Pasiphilus. With the help of P, we may now confidently introduce into the opening sections various readings from H, which Schmitt, with the material at his disposal, evidently did not think it safe to adopt: e. g. 260, 6 *opus* <*tibi*>; 11 omit *potius*; 262, 6 *quaerat* for *quaeret*; 8 *quaedam sunt* for *sunt quaedam*. P likewise sub-

¹ See above, p. 295.

² I am uncertain whether the manuscript reads *decet* or *docet*.

³ I assume that this easy error recurs in H independently, not as a bequest from a common tradition.

⁴ The archetype of the better class might have had *fuor* (perhaps at the end of the line), so that again we have independent mistakes in P and H, or the latter's archetype (cf. *sua* in D).

stantiates, I believe, one of the readings of the inferior class, 261, 9 *scio*.¹

Turning now to H, we notice, with the help of D, certain mistakes contained in their archetype, namely, 261, 9 *scio*] *extimo*: 266, 6 *aspernata*] *spernata*; probably 268, 2 *suos*] *suo*²; 21 *odore feras*] *odoriferas*; 269, 2 *pistacia*] *pistachia*. H alone has the following seventeen: 262, the insertion of *Argumentum* before the poetry; 10 *Pasiphile*] *Passigle*; 263, 2 *onusta*] *honusta*; 28 *Bacchi*] *bachi*³; 264, 3 *onusta*] *honusta*; 16 *quin*] *quid*; 27 *decore*] *decere*; 265, 6 DE MALO] *De Pomo*⁴; 17 *Baccho*] *bacho*⁵; 266, 3 DE CYDONEO] *De Fulua cidonea*⁶; 268, 10 *adoptiuus*] *adoptiuis*; 12 *gemma*] *geminis*; 15 DE AMYGDALO] *De Amingdalo* (AMIGDALO A amigdalō P); 23 *mirari*] *miraci*: 269, 1 DE PISTACIIS] *De Pistachis*; 2 *amygdaleos*] *amingdaleos* (*amig-doleos* AP); 8 *liquore uigent*] *uigore uigent*. Doubtless, if a manuscript could be produced as nearly related to H as D is, but one presenting a purer text, it would be found that several of the above mistakes are not peculiar to H, but descend from the archetype. All told, the amount of error in this group, determined as well as may be from H and D, is almost exactly equal to the individual mistakes of either A or B plus their common errors, though compared with either one of these manuscripts, H presents a somewhat less serious array of defects. But the errors of the archetype of A and P, which through the help of the Harvard manuscript we can now reconstruct, cannot be proved to be more weighty—or less weighty—than those of the archetype of HD from the material at our disposal. A new codex of the HD group would settle this question, about which

¹*Existimo*, given by Schmitt, is well-nigh unintelligible, and especially awkward with *aestimo* immediately preceding. *Aestimo* may well have been an attempted correction, written as a gloss on *extimo*, the corrupted form of *existimo*; the gloss was incorporated and thus forced out *scio*. *Maligne existimō* makes a clausula more in the author's manner than *maligne* † *destimō*. I would read, then: *maligne existimo*. *Scio*.

²See above, p. 297, n. 4.

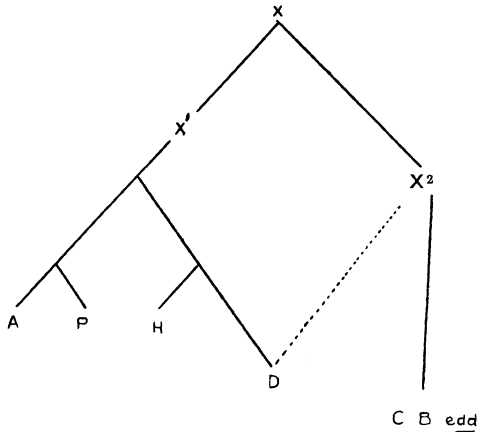
³See above, p. 297, n. 3.

⁴The reading of D, *De malo Seu Pomo*, indicates that the archetype of HD, like that of AP, had DE MALO, D having added to this, as usual, the reading of the inferior class, or found the gloss already in its original, as P must have done.

⁵D appears to have added *malo* from the title in the inferior class, DE MALO CYDONEO, and inserted it in the wrong place—*De Cydomo malo*. The peculiar variant in H, therefore, is an idiosyncrasy.

it is unprofitable to speculate now. At present we may state only that the two groups in the superior class are about on a par in their deviations from the correct text, and are both important for its reconstruction.

As for the Harvard manuscript, then, it is of present service in making plain the above facts, and in showing the need of several corrections of Schmitt's text of the introductory prose letter. While one may not claim for it pre-eminence over all the manuscripts of the *De Insitione*, it is certainly superior to A, and with A constitutes one of the two equal groups which make up the better class of manuscripts. The results we have then found may be represented by the following *stemma*. I have not attempted a further analysis of C and B or the early editions.



*Collation of the Harvard Manuscript with Schmitt's
Edition of Palladius, Book XIV.*

Title] Palladij carmina de arte insitionis (*in red*).

Schmitt,

p. 261.

- 5 Habes] ABES
indultae] INDVLTE (ae
always written e)
6 opus de arte] opus tibi de
arte
9 numquam] nunq(am)
existimo] scio
11 operam eius] eius opera
262. 1 diu] dici
pudorem] pudore
2 feci] fecit
3 ad has modo] modo ad has

Schmitt,

p. 262.

- 4 quaeret] querat
adfectio] affectio
5 nugis] magis
6 existimare] extimare
7 oculos] oculus
8 sunt quaedam] quaedam
s(un)t
9 compendia] compendi
17 adfectu] affectu
socii] sotij
20 condemnabile] commenda-
bile

Schmitt,

- p. 202 22 thalami] talami
 specie] spetie
 23 suboli] soboli
 utrinque] utrinq(ue)
 24 adfinibus] affnibus
 26 foederibus] federibus (oe
always written e)
 263. 3 sidera] sydera
 19 species] speties
 23 figuntur] finguntur
 24 fissa] fixa
 27 DE VITE] (*in red*)
 30 gemmis] gemis
 implicat] implicat
 264. 4 DE OLIVA] De oliua.
*(In red. The remaining
 titles are in red minus-
 cules.)*
 6 feros] ferox
 7 sterilis pingues] steriles
 pinguis
 11 commodat] Commodum
 16 phyllida] Phillida
 mitescere] nitescere
 20 inmissi] immissi
 cydonea] cidonia
 24 pugnacibus] pugnantibus
 25 premit] petunt
 26 libycis] libicis
 265. 2 adsociata] associata
 6 DE POMO] De malo
 8 sociam] sotiam
 13 distendere] descendere
 16 Nymphis] nimphis
 17 Thyrsigero] thirsigero
 18 rubere] rubore
 20 dona] poma

Schmitt,

- p. 265. 21 paret] pares
 23 sudibus] suibus
 27 pruno] primo
 266. 1 phyllidis] phyllidis
 3 DE MALO CYDONEO] De
 cydoneo
 4 praestet] prestant
 cydonea] cidonea
 11 Aemula] Semina
 12 admisso] amisso
 14 terrent] terret
 16 nonet] monet
 18 pasturi] palustri
 267. 1 fetus] foetus
 3 DE SILIQVA] om.
 4 Adsuescunt] Assuescunt
 16 commercia] commertia
 19 fetus] foetus
 24 terebinthus] therebindus
 268. 1 suos] suo
 3 curua] cura or citra (?)
 6 adnexo] annexo
 cydonea] cydonia
 12 conpellit] compellit
 15 DE AMYGDALO] De
 amigdolo
 16 Phyllis] Phillis
 17 tegit] teget (*gerit erased*)
 18 permutat] permittant
 19 docet] docet or decet (?)
 20 in modicam] Immodicam
 269. 1 amygdaleos] amigdoleos
 2 petunt] ferunt
 3 terebinthus] therebintus
 7 et] om.
 14 Cetera, quae] Cetera q3
 sollers] solers

PART II.

Tacitus' Germania.

Since the publication of Professor Abbott's careful study of the Toledo codex of the *Germania*,¹ the existence of a third class among the manuscripts of this work, distinct from X and Y can no longer be doubted. Various scholars had previously suspected the existence of such a class, and had called attention to manuscripts which seemed to derive from some source other than X and Y, but the evidence thus alleged has not appeared conclusive. Now, however, it is clear that the class E, of which the Toletanus is the most significant representative, is not only dis-

¹The Toledo Manuscript of the *Germania* of Tacitus, in the Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, 1903.

tinct from X and Y, but a better source than either. It avoids mistakes committed by one or the other of these classes, agreeing now with X, now with Y in preserving the true text. Wünsch's suggestion¹ that owing to the late date of the manuscript—1474—these good readings may be mere conjectures, is hardly justified, since they are to be found in either of the two classes. Moreover, since the Codex Venetus, written in 1464,² gives, as I shall try to show,³ a Y text revised from an E source, and since the archetype of this manuscript and the Parisinus presented the same peculiarity, the existence of the Class E is proved for a date at least ten years earlier than that of the Toletanus. One might postulate that the original of T, which is related in various ways to A was a manuscript of the X class corrected from a Y source, but in this case we should expect some traces of this contamination in a manuscript which otherwise preserves variants so carefully. Abbott's carefully reasoned conclusions on this point are decisive;⁴ they have been accepted by Wünsch, and, to my knowledge, by all other reviewers of Abbott's treatise. We need now a thorough scrutiny of all the manuscripts of the E class, to determine the characteristic errors of this tradition, and thus ascertain its exact value.

Fresh evidence on this point should not be expected from the Harvard manuscript;⁵ it has nothing to do with the class E. A glance at the appended collation, furthermore, will discover an astounding array of imperfections in its text. For all that, as I hope to show, the manuscript has an importance of its own.

*Collation of the Harvard Manuscript with Muellenhoff's
Text of the Germania.*

fol. 36. Title] CORNELII · TACITI · EQVITIS · RÔ |
DE ORIGINE ET SITU · GERMANIE | LIBER · INCIPIT
· FELICITER (*in red*).

¹ Berl. Phil. Woch. 1904, c. 876.

² Tagmann, De Taciti Germaniae Apparatu Critico, 1847, p. 21.

³ See below p. 316 ff.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 30.

⁵ For the Tacitus text I will refer to the manuscript as ϕ , since both H and P are needed for other codices.

- fol. 36 1, 1 Raetisque] rhetijs q3
 2 Danuvio] danuuio (*always*
u, not v)
 3 metu] meatu
 Oceanus] oceanus: *always*
occ.
 4 latos] lat
 6 Raeticarum] rateicarum
 7 praecipiti] precipiti (*ae*
always written e except
2, 15; 37, 21.)
 10 Abnobae] arnobe (*in r.*
margin at arbone)
 pluris] plures
 11 sex] se
 12 hauritur] haurit
 2, 6 aditur ||
 fol. 36^v 2, 6 porro] *om.*
 8 terris, asperam] terris.
 Asperam
 9 si] *om.*
 12 Tuisconem] Tyifconem *in*
left marg. at tirfonem
p tuifman (perhaps tu-
ifinan?)
 13 et] eius
 14 conditoresque] condito-
 risq3
 tris] tres
 Manno] Magno
 15 Ingaevones] ingaerones
(perhaps ingaevones)
 16 Herminones] hermimones
 Istaevones] iftenones
 2, 17 ut in] autem
 pluris] plures
 deo] deos
 plurisque] pluresq3
 18 appellationes, Marsos] ap-
 pellationes. Marsos
 Gambriios] gambrinios
 Suebos] sueos
 19 Vandilios] uandilos
 21 additum] editum
 22 Tungri] totungri
 23 sint] ft
 24 evaluisse paulatim] eua-
 luisse. Paulatim
 omnes] omnis
 25 etiam] &
 3, 1 apud eos et] et apud eos
 2 omnium ||
 fol. 37 3, 2 proelia] prelia (*oe always*
written e except 21, 1;
23, 7.)
 3 haec] huius
 4 barditum] bardicum
 vocant, accendunt] uocant
 Accendere
- fol. 37 7 vocis] uoces
 videtur] videntur
 9 obiectis] *om.*
 10 Vlixen] ulixem
 12 terras] terre
 14 nominatumque :
 aram] nominatumq3 ///
 /// /// /// Aram
 17 et] *om.*
 18 Raetiaeque] rhetieq3
 4, 1 ipse] Item
 Germaniae] germanie ||
 2 conubiis] connubiis
 4, 8 patientia] potentia
 fol. 37^v 10 assuerunt] assueuerunt
 5, 1 specie] spetie
 qua . . . qua] q . . . q
 Gallias] gallicas
 7 frontis: numero] frontis
 nu(mer)o
 8 propitiine] propitii
 9 negaverint] negarint
 10 argentum aurumve] au-
 rum argentumue
 12 perinde] proinde
 videre] ualere
 13 argentea ||
 fol. 38 14 vilitate] utilitate
 15 commerciorum] comertio-
 rum
 18 simplicius] simplitius
 21 sequuntur] secut²
 sed quia] sed &
 22 est promiscua] est. Pro-
 miscua
 23 mercantibus. ne] mercan-
 tibus ne
 6, 5 comminus] cominus
 8 vibrant, nudi] uibrant:
 Nudi
 10 distinguunt] distingunt ||
 fol. 38^v 11 galea] galee
 13 gyros] giros
 16 aestimanti] extimati
 19 definitur] Diffinitur
 21 inter suos vocantur] uo-
 cantur inter suos
 23 dummodo] dum /// | rur-
 sus (*perhaps rursos*)
 24 concilium] consilium
 29 finierunt] finiuerunt
 7, 2 aut] &
 3 prompti ||
 fol. 39 4 praesunt] sumunt
 6 ne] nec
 8 imperante] imperitante
 10 fortitudinis] fortissimis
 11 nec] aut

fol. 39	15 laudatores] Ludatores	fol. 41	8 poena] penaꝝ
	8, 1 proditur quasdam] prodi- tur apud quasdam		10 regi] rei qui] <i>om.</i> vindicitur] iudicantur
	4 comminus] protinus		13 singulis] singuli
	5 efficacius] efficiati	12, 14 assunt] adsunt	
	6 civitatum] ciuitatum	13, 1 publica] puca	
fol. 39 ^v	puellae quoque] puelleqꝫ		2 nisi] nihil
	7 nobiles] nobiles		4 tum in] tum cum in
	9 negligunt] negligunt		5 propinqui] propinquus
	10 Veledam] ueledum		iuuenem] iuuenē
	11 Albrunam] aurimam	fol. 41 ^v	6 haec] hoc
	<i>in left marg. at albrimā.</i>		7 pars] par
	12 compluris] complures		8 merita] inclita
	13 tamquam] tanq̃		14 et principum] et emula- tio p. principum, cui] p. Cui
	9, 2 humanis] hur i nis hostis] hostias (<i>perhaps</i> hosticis)		16 semper] super
	3 Martem et Herculem] Herculem ac martem		19 si numero] si in nōlo
	4 Sueborum] sueuorum		21 muneribus] ōibus
	Isidi] ysi di	14, 3 infame] infamem	
	9, 4 unde] uñ		infame in omnem vitam] in omne uitam infamem
	8 speciem] spetiem		5 facta] fēta
	11 illud] id	fol. 42	6 praecipuum] principum
	10, 2 frugiferae] frugiferi		7 principes] princeps
	arbori] arboris		pugnant] pugnat
fol. 40	3 de cisam		8 otio] ocio
	7 caelumque] deumqꝫ	14, 8 torpeat] torpent	
	11 illud] id		10 tum] cum
	12 hic] h̃		11 ancipitia] aufpīcia
	aviu] ciuiñ		12 vi belloque] bello uiqꝫ
	13 equorum quoque] equoꝝqꝫ		13 tuentur] tueare liberalitate] libertate
	14 publice] puca		14 frameam] farameam
	16 rex] rerum		18 exspectare] expectare
	17 hinnitusque] hinnitus		19 mereri] metiri
	19 sed] <i>om.</i>		quin immo] qñ imo
	22 exploratur] explorant gentis		20 iners] in eis adquirere] acquirere
fol. 40 ^v	24 quemque] quengꝫ	15, 4 delegata] delicata	
	11, 5 incohatur luna aut im- pletur] impletur luna aut inchoatur		5 senibusque] infeniliam
	9 diem] dum		6 habent] hñt naturae] nē
	11, 9 illud] id	fol. 42 ^v	iidem] iñdem
	10 ut] <i>om.</i>		11 finitimarum] fñiaꝝ gentium] generum
	12 absunitur] assumitur		12 et] <i>om.</i>
	turba] turbe		13 phalerae] falera
	13 coerendi] cohercendi	16, 2 se] eos	
	14 rex] rerum princeps] principes		4 nostrum] nñi
	17 displi cuit		5 conexis] connexis
fol. 41	18 aspernantur] aspernatur		6 spatia] spacio
12, 1 licet] licet et			7 caementorum] tegmen- torum
4 ac] et			10 illinunt] illiniunt
6 tamquam] tanq̃			11 lineamenta] linimenta
7 puniuntur] opinamur			

- fol. 42^v 14 hiemis] hyemi
frugibus ||
- fol. 43 15 quando] qñ
17 ignorantur] igrant²
17, 3 distinguuntur] distingun-
tur
5 artus] ar- | ctus
6 neglegenter] negligentur
7 commercia] comertia
10 nec] n^c
13 nudaē] nudant
18, 1 quamquam] Quanq̃
nec] n^c
2 laudaveris] laudes
prope] xpe
4 libidine ||
- fol. 43^v 7 propinqui ac] propinqui
qui et
8 delicias] delitias
11 invicem ipsa] ipsa invicem
12 affert] offert
18, 12 maximum] max^m
arcana] archana
15 incipientis] om.
18 paratus equus] paratus
ephippus equus
hoc] *perhaps* hec
data] ~~data~~ data (*corr. by first*
hand)
19 pereundum] patrem
20 se quae] seq̃
inviolata] imolata
19, 2 irrationibus] incitationi-
bus
4 gente] gēte ||
- fol. 44 7 omnen vicum] omnes uicos
verbere] urbis
8 non] nulla
10 enim] om.
et] nec
11 eae] he
15 ne ulla] nec ulla
cogitatio] cognatio
ne] nec
16 tamquam] tanq̃
19, 17 quemquam] quenq̃
20, 1 in haec] nihil
2 corpora quae] corporaq̃
miramur] miratur
quemque] quenq̃
3 nec] nō
aut] non
4 educationis] educationum
5 deliciis] delitiis
dignoscas] agnoscas
inter eadem ... virtus ag-
noscat] om.
7 eoque] cohiq̃
- fol. 44 8 iuventa] iuventas
9 similis ||
pares] partes
11 ad] om.
quidam] quiddam
12 artiore] arctiorem-
que
hunc] hñ
13 in] om.
accipiendis] accipiundis
14 tamquam] tanq̃
et animum] & in animum
20, 18 quanto] om.
quo] tanto
19 gratiosior] generosior
21, 1 seu patris seu propinqui]
seu propinqui seu patris
3 etiam] om.
4 recipitque] recipit
7 convictibus] coniunctibus
gens] gens ē.
effusius ... epulis exci-
pit] om.
10 defecere] deficit
12 non] om.
13 quantum] q̃
ad ||
- fol. 45 16 facilitas] facultas
17 vinclum] uictus
18 comitas] comis
22, 1 plerumque] plerunq̃
2 calida] calida aqua
3 hiems] hyemps
separatae] sepe
8 conviciis] conuiuijs
saepius] om.
9 sed et] sed
11 plerumque] plerunq̃
12 tamquam] tanq̃
cogitationes] cognationes
14 non] nec
adhuc] ad hoc
18 dum ||
- fol. 45^v 23, 1 potui] potus
hordeo] ordeo
3 simplices] simplicis
24, 2 idem] idem *corr. by first*
hand.
4 quaestum] questu
5 tamen] om.
6 pretium] premium
spectantium] spe expec-
tantium
6 quod] quidem
mirere] inicere
seria] seua
11 quamvis ... quamvis] quis
... quis

- fol. 45^v 12 ipsi] illi
13 condicionis] conditionis
 commercia] comertia
14 tradunt] tradūt ||
fol. 46 25, 1 descriptis] descriptis
2 ministeriis] in ministeriis
7 coercere] cohercere
11 dumtaxat] duntaxat
 iis] his
26, 1 fenus] Foenus
3 invices] uico^f
6 praebent] prestant
7 labore] laborare
8 contendunt] cōtēdūt ||
fol. 46^v 9 et] ut
 hortos] ortos
11 species] spēs
 hiems et ver] hyemps: uer
12 bona] borea
27, 1 funerum] Funerum ū
4 igni] igitur
7 et] ac
10 commune] comuni
 omnium] ōi
13 e] om.
28, 1 auctor] auctorum
4 quo minus] q̄ min ||
fol. 47 6 diuisas] diuersas
9 ad huc] illuc
 Boihaemi] borhenum
11 Aravisci] aranisci
 abosis] abora
16 Nervii] Heruli
 affectationem] affectionem
17 Germanicae] germanie
 tamquam] tanq̄
20 Triboci] triborii
21 Nemetes] hemetes
 ne Ubii] Nubij
22 meruerint] inuenerint
23 conditoris] conditoresⁱ corr.
 by first hand.
25 ripam ||
fol. 47^v 29, 1 Batavi] batani
3 Chattorum] chatorum
29, 3 populus] ppl^{is}
4 in eas] motus
5 fierent] fieret
et] om.
6 insigne nam] om.
 nec] nec tam
7 oneribus] honoribus
8 collationibus] collocati-
 onibus
10 Mattiacorum] mactiaco-
 rum
11 populi Romani] p. r.
fol. 47^v 14 Batavis] uatanis
15 ipso] ipse
30, 1 ultro] Vitro
 Chatti] carti
 ab ||
fol. 48 Hercynio] hercinio
4 et] om.
 Chattos] chatteos (perhaps
 chacteos)
5 Hercynius] hercinus
30, 6 artus] arctus
9 intellegere] intelligere
10 differre] differentiae
 disponere] om.
11 certa] cetera
12 nec] non
15 copiis] corijs
16 ire] ne
 Chattos] chactos
17 fortuita] fortuna
19 cunctatio] cunctatior
31, 1 raro] rara
2 Chattos] chactos
4 submittere] summittere
 caeso] caso
5 virtuti] uirtutis
7 pretia] ptia
 rettulisse] retulisse
 dignosque] dignosq̄ (s
 corr. to d by first hand.
8 ignavis] ignauit
11 Chattorum] chaetorum
fol. 48^v 31, 12 iamque] nāq̄
13 suisque] suis
14 prima] premia
 semper] super
15 vultu] cultu
17 quemque] quenq̄
 alieni] aluni
18 contemptores] contemp-
 tores
 durae] durare
32, 1 proximi] Prox |
 Chattis] Chactis
2 Tencteri] Tenteri
3 Tencteri] Tentiri
4 Chattos] cactos
5 Tencteris] tenteris
7 perseverant] per-
 seuerat. || Senes
fol. 49 10 prout] ut
33, 1 Tencteros] teneros
2 Chamavos] chamanos
 Angrivarios] agrinarios
33, 6 sexaginta] lx
10 quando] qā in
12 potest quam] postq̄^u

- fol. 49 34, 1 Angrivarios] agriuarios
Chamavos] chamatteos
Dulgubnii] dulceboni
2 elidunt] claudunt
aliaque] Heq3
3 Frisiis] fusi
4 Frisiis] fusis
ex] &
5 praetexuntur] pretereunt
6 insuper lacus] & super-
lacus
7 classibus] classib' ||
fol. 49^o 8 temptavimus] tentauimus
9 volgavit] uulgavit
10 quidquid] quicquid
13 in] *om.*
sanctiusque ac
reverentius] sanctius re-
uerenti3
14 visum] inuisis
35, 1 occidentem Germaniam]
germaniam occidentem
2 septentrionem] septem-
trionem
3 Chaucorum] caueorum
Frisiis] frisis
5 optenditur] obtenditur
Chattos] chactos
6 spatium] spacium
7 inter] aut
9 malit] mauult
10 quieti secretique] secreti
quieti3
11 populantur] appellantur
13 non] nō ||
fol. 50 15 et . . . Chaucorum] *om.*
36, 1 Chattorumque] chactor-
um3
3 iucundius] iocundius
quia] q
4 inpotentes] impotentes
5 nomina] noie
36, 5 ita qui] itaq3
6 boni] Boi
7 vocantur] uagantur
8 tracti] tacti
8 contermina] certamina
9 adversarum] adversarios
socii] sotii
10 sunt cum] rē hi cū
37, 1 sinum] situm
Cimbri] cymbri
4 ambitu] ambitū
6 sescentessimum] sexcente-
simū
quadagesimum] xL^m
7 Cimbrorum] cymbrorum
8 ac] &
consulibus] conf.
- fol. 50 10 consulum computemus]
computemus cōsulatū ||
ducenti] .cc.
decem] .x.
37, 12 damna] danna
15 Arsacis] nisaris
17 Pacoro] paccio
infra] mafa
deiectus] derect
19 Gnaeoque] Marco3
Mallio] manlio
20 populo Romano] p. r.
21 trisque] tresque
Caesari] Cēsaris
25 otium] ocium
27 etiam] &
28 ac rursus inde pulsi] ac
rursus pulsi: nā
38, 1 Suebis] Sueis *so through-*
out, Sueui Sueuorum
Sueuos
est] ē ||
fol. 51 2 Tencterorumve] tente-
corumue
3 Germaniae partem] par-
tem germanie
38, 3 optinent] obtinent
4 nominibusque] nobis3
quamquam] q
commune] comuni
8 cognationis] cognationum
Sueborum] *om.*
9 imitatione] mutatione
11 sequuntur] seqūt
12 vertici] vertice
religatur] ne legant
et ornatiorem] korna-
torem
13 innoxia] inopie
15 comptius] compti in
ornantur] armantur
39, 1 vetustissimos se] uetustis-
simos3
Semnones] semnone
3 stato] statuto
patrum] patruum
4 sacram] sacrū
omnes] nois
eiusdem] eiusdem3
5 caesoq3] cesosq3
homine] honore
39, 5 homine] honore
6 primordia] p̄mordia ||
7 nisi] ei
fol. 51^o 8 numinis] muneris
prae se ferens] proferens
12 omnium] afum
15 habitant] habitantur

- fol. 51^v 40, 1 Langobardos] Longobar-
dos
nobilitat] nobilitas
2 Reudigni] Rheudigni
3 ac] &
5 Nuithones] Nuitones (*per-*
haps Huitones)
7 commune] comune
Nerthum] Nehertū
8 eamque] eaq;
9 populis] pplos
10 eo] ea (?)
12 penetrali] pene-|| trali
fol. 52 40, 12 intellegit] intelligit
14 quaecumque] quacunq;
17 nota] uota
amata] armata
18 satiatam] saciatā
21 arcanus] archanus
22 illud] id
23 perituri] parituri
41, 1 Sueborum] uerborum
2 propior] proprior
3 ante] añ
Hermundurorum] Nher-
mundororum
5 in] *om.*
commercium] comertium
6 Raetiae] rhetie
9 concu || piscentibus
fol. 52^v 10 Hermunduris] herundo-
ris
42, 1 Hermunduros] herundo-
ros
Varisti] nafci (*corr. by*
first hand)
Marcomani] marce-|mani
42, 3 Boiis] bois
4 Varisti] uarisci
5 praecingitur] peragitur
1 usque] *om.*
7 manserunt] mansere
8 Marobodui] Marcodemi
9 ex auctoritate] & ante
11 iuvantur] priuantur
valent] ualent
43, 1 Marsigni] marsigini
Cotini] gotini
Osi Buri] osiburi
Marcomanorum] marco-
mannoꝝ
2 e] ex
3 Suebos] sueuos
Cotinos] Gotinos
4 Pannonica] pannonia
5 ut] aut
7 et] *om.*
9 insederunt] insiderunt
10 di || rimit
fol. 53 Suebiam] fueuam
continuum] continū
12 Lygiorum] lingorum
14 sufficiet] sufficiat
Helvaeonas] elueconos
Helisios] helysios
15 Nahanarvalos] nabanarua-
los
Nahanarvalos] nabanarua-
los (?)
religionis] regionis
18 ea] eas
20 tamen, ut] tñ &
21 Hari] alij
22 truces] trucis
28 Lygios] ligios
Gotones] gothones
29 regnantur] regnant
31 deinde ||
fol. 53^v Rugii et Lemovii] rugii
lemouijq;
44, 1 ipso] ipō
Oceano] oceanum
3 semper] asper
appulsui] appulsum
4 ministrant] ministrantur
9 parendi] pauendi
12 otiosae] ociosa
14 ne] neq;
45, 1 trans] Terras
immutum] innotum
2 cludique] claudiq;
3 cadentis] cadens
4 ortum edurat] ortu sedu-
rat
sidera] sydera
hebetet ||
fol. 54 5 formasque] fortunaq;
equorum] eorum
7 et] ut
fol. 54 45, 8 Suebici] sueuici
9 adluuntur] alluuntur
Sueborum] sueuorum
10 matrem] marte
11 insigne] Insignem
formas] formam
12 omniumque] omnium
quiq;
19 ratio] non
23 arborum esse] arboꝝ
24 intellegas] intelligas
25 plerumque] pleriq;
26 implicata ||
fol. 54^v 26 cluduntur] clauduntur
28 tura] thura
29 crediderim] credendū
30 vicini] ui cini
radiis] radius
31 ac] at

fol. 54 ^v	32 sucini] succini	fol. 54 ^v	6 conubiis] connubijs
	33 igni] igne		mixtis] mixtos
	34 in] om.		Sarmatarum] sarmatharum
fol. 54 ^v	45,35 resinamve] resinam ue		8 quidquid] qui
	36 Suionibus] Sui- uonibus	fol. 54 ^v	46, 8 Peucinos] pencinnos
	39 degenerant] degenerat		Fennosque] fennosq3
	46, 1 hic]i		9 pererrant] pererant
	Suebiae] suevie		10 tamen] tñ
	finis] fines	fol. 55	11 figunt] fingunt
	Peucinorum] Prucinorum		pedum] peditum
	Venetorumque] uenethorumq3		16 sagittis] sagiptis
	2 Fennorum] fesimorum		19 imbrumque] imbrum
	ascribam] adscribam		23 inlaborare] illaborare
	3 Peucini] prugini		27 Hellusios] ellusios
	quos]giros		28 voltusque] uultusq3
	Bastarnas] bastarnos		

Here are almost enough mistakes to preclude further perusal of this manuscript. *Opinamur* for *puniuntur* (12.7), *tegumentorum* for *caementorum* (16, 7), *caseo* for *caeso* (31, 4), *asper* for *semper* (44, 3)—these are not encouraging signs. It is a minotaur of a text, sprung on the one side from genuine tradition, on the other from the abysmal stupidity of the scribe. Errors in seeing, errors in hearing, errors in resolving abbreviations, haplographies, dittographies, omissions, interpolations—all are present in sufficient abundance to illustrate an essay on the frailties of scribes in general. One would not expect so many offences from the copyist of the Harvard manuscript, who for the Ovid and especially the Palladius text has performed his task acceptably, and in fact very few of the errors are to be laid at his door.¹ The reader may have noticed already the intimate connection between ϕ and a small group of manuscripts noted by Massmann² and more recently by Wünsch³ and Müllenhoff.⁴ These scholars do not pronounce a very flattering estimate of this group: it has no special importance for the constitution of the text, says Wünsch, and is of only secondary value for the history of its transmission. Müllenhoff, too, dubs the readings of these manuscripts *abscheulich verwildert* and concludes that we may dispense with their testimony. I venture the assertion, which my readers

¹One orthographical peculiarity of our scribe may be noted, for it appears in the Ovid and Palladius texts as well—the almost unvarying practice of writing *e* for *ae* and *oe*. Like the writer of C, he is also inclined to *tanquam*, *plerunque*.

²In his edition, 1847, pp. 2, 15, 17 (on F, Rb, Rf).

³Hermes XXXII (1897, p. 55).

⁴Deutsche Altertumskunde IV, 1900, p. 84.

may hardly feel inclined to accept, that this group is of distinct importance for the text.

As collations of the manuscripts of this group are not at my disposal, and as doubt has been cast on the accuracy of Massmann's citations,¹ I shall have to consider ϕ as typical of them all. Judging by the readings given by Wünsch for the first five chapters, it would seem that the best of these manuscripts is the Laurentianus,² while ϕ forms a separate subdivision with the Urbinas and the Angelicus; here ϕ and the Urbinas show signs of kinship, while the Angelicus, which in this short space introduces a half-dozen original errors, bids fair to be the most mendacious witness to the text among all the manuscripts of the Germania. A careful collation of all these codices is needed to determine the character of their archetype, but for the present, ϕ will represent the class with substantial accuracy.

A multitude of errors in a manuscript need not discredit the authority of its good readings unless the text bears the marks of learned emendation—in fact their presence raises the presumption that such emendation has not been applied. If, further, we are so lucky as to find a kindred text in which most of the mistakes in the first manuscript are shown to be individual aberrations of the copyist, these may be discounted, and its good readings used to corroborate or correct the text of the related codex. Thus D is unhesitatingly employed by all critics of the Germania to constitute with C the class Y, though D has nearly as many individual errors (about 225) as ϕ itself (some 275) and was well described by Michaelis³ as *tamquam per somnum scriptum*.⁴ I have spoken of interpolations in ϕ . The number of entire words inserted is not large, though most of them will appear rather startling to the reader of the Germania. The most important instances are: 13, 4 tum <cum>, 14 et <emulatio> p(rincipum); 18, 8 paratus <ephippus> equus; 22, 2 calida <aqua>; 24, 6 voluntas <spe> expectantium; 36, 10 sunt <hi> cum. The nature of these interpolations is evident;

¹ See Abbott, op. cit., p. 38, n. 59. Reitzenstein, Philologus LVII (1898), p. 308, n. 4 takes a somewhat more favorable view.

² So Müllenhoff. D. A. p. 83.

³ In his edition of Tacitus' Dialogus, p. xiii. He concludes that it is 'ut negligentem ita sincerum libri Y testem'.

⁴ See too Müllenhoff's description, D. A., p. 67.

with the exception of the first and, possibly, the next to the¹ last instance, they are incorporated glosses which had meant to serve as explanations. In 13, 4, a variant reading is included (C has ^{cum}tum), and this may be true of 24, 6, since BT have spectantium and the Parisinus ^{† spec-}expectantium.² At any rate there is no sure sign that the text has been contaminated with that of other manuscripts. One need not resort to another class to explain such a variant as *cum* for *tum*, while *spe* may not be a variant but an explanatory gloss. Again the dozen examples of what seems emendation in ϕ need not detract from the authority of the good readings it may contain. At 1, 3 the scribe, not an adept in Tacitean sarcasm, changes metu to meatu; 8, 4, he alters comminus to protinus; 13, 8, he first takes merita to be incrita, and then changes this to a form he understands—inclita; 14, 3, he reads infamē (so S₂) and then places the adjective after what he imagines to be its noun—in omnem vitam infamem; 19, 7, reading urbis for verbere, he finds a plural more appropriate for the preceding vicum—hence, per omnes vicos urbis;³ 32, 7, mispunctuating with a full stop after perseverant, he changes the verb to the singular to suit its new subject aemulatio; 34, 1, finding the outlandish Dulgitubini, or Dulcubini, unpleasant to the taste, he sweetens it into the liquid and thoroughly Italian dulciboni—the barbarian Germans have become courtly gentlemen of the Renaissance, καλοκάγαθοί.

These are the scribe's worst offences in the way of misimproving, and they are enough, taking his other weaknesses into account, to discredit any new reading which seemed plausible in itself, for it might be sheer accident, the combination of lucky mistakes. But there is no reason for doubting the testimony of ϕ for a reading supported by other manuscripts. First, then, we may inquire as to the class in which the little group represented by ϕ belongs.⁴

¹ Cases of pure stupidity are 8, 1 proditur <apud>; 21, 7 gens <ē>; 29, 6 nec <tam>—the last perhaps due to the corruption and misplacement of the preceding nam.

² Or does Wünsch mean that the entire word spectantium is written above?

³ The reading of RbFf as reported by Massmann, uicum urbem points to an abbreviation as the source of this mistake, which was then falsely emended by ϕ .

⁴ My citations are from Müllenhoff's text, though I refer to the MSS in the more usual fashion as A, B, C, D. Müllenhoff's ungainly symbols undergo so many transformations in his later treatise that one may dispense with them

Clearly the Harvard manuscript is not a member of the E family. Of the readings given by Abbott, p. 38, and Müllenhoff, p. 79, as typical of this class, not one appears in ϕ . Certain coincidences with errors in T or other members of the class should perhaps be mentioned, though they hardly appear significant. They are: 2, 17 deo e^2 ρ Rd e] deos ϕ T (*written above*) S; 7, 6 ne verberare] nec verberare ϕ neque uerberare T e^2 etc. VM; 11, 12 absumitur e^2 etc.] assumitur ϕ M cf. V assumit T; 30, 6 artus AB] arctus T e^2 ϕ arcus CD (Abbott, p. 29, believes arctus the reading of the archetype); 38, 4 commune e^2] comuni ϕ comuni T; 39, 3 stato e^2] statuto ϕ HM (stato *in margin*) T; 4 eiusdem] eiusdemq; ϕ Te 2 ρ Rd BMS, HV; 46, 16 sagittis e^2] sagiptis ϕ T. The last coincidence would be significant if there were demonstrable connections elsewhere between ϕ and T; it is obvious, however, that the Harvard manuscript has no kinship with the class E.

Just as obvious is its affinity with the Y group. Turning to Abbott's lists of characteristic differences between X and Y (pp. 25-28), we find that in 63 out of 103¹ instances ϕ agrees with Y. The list includes these mistakes—I add the readings of T for contrast. 5, 8 propitiue T] propitii; 12 perinde TB ^{1 pro.} perinde A]

altogether. Of the manuscripts discussed in the present article I have seen none except the Harvard codex. For ABCD I depend on Müllenhoff, with Abbott's corrections; for E, on Abbott's collation of T, Roediger's of e^2 (Deutsche Alterthumsk. IV, p. 691 ff.) and Reitzenstein's notes on ρ , Rd Re (Philologus LVII (1898), p. 307). Professor Minton Warren has kindly examined for me a few readings in Rb and Rd. Statements as to the other manuscripts I take from Wünsch's dissertation, De Taciti Germaniae Codicibus Germanicis, 1893 (= Diss.) and his article in Hermes XXXII (1897), p. 42 (= Herm.). For readings that I find implied, but not directly stated in these various articles, I print the symbol of the manuscript in italics—except for ABCDT.

¹ I leave out of account the following cases: 3, 9 obiectis; here ϕ omits whatever word its original had. 13, 14 principum cui; here the punctuation p. Cui suggests the reading of C, principum. Cui. 20, 3 aut] AB ac CDT non ϕ . 35, 9 malit] CDT maluit A malit (*corr. ex malint*) B *mauult* ϕ . 37, 19 Gnaeoque] Marcoquoque *sive* Marcoque A Marcoquoque B Marcoque T ϕ miquoque D. M. (i. e. Marco) C. I am inclined to believe that the archetype of Y had Marcoque (as in T ϕ) and that D in miquoque records a mere error in hearing; C has M(arco) but has omitted que. This makes the distinctive feature of X the dittography Marcoquoque, which A supplements with Marcoque as variant. Both readings may well have stood in the archetype. 43, 15 Nahanarvalos] naharualos ABT nacharualos CD nabanarualos (nahanarualos?) ϕ .

proinde CD ϕ ; 7, 2 aut T] ac; 10, 17 hinnitusque T] hinnitus; 13, 5 propinqui T] propinquus; 22, 9 sed et T] sed; 26, 3 in vices¹ cf. AT inuicem B] uices C uices D uicos ϕ ; 28, 1 auctor autor AB] auctorum TCD ϕ ; 31, 15 vultu² cf. T] cultu; 33, 10 urgentibus] urgentibus iam ABT in urgentibus CD ϕ ; 34, 3 Frisii T] frisi; 40, 3 ac T] et; 45, 4 ortum]³ ortus T; 46, 11 figunt] fingunt T.

Besides the above instances, the following criteria, omitted for various reasons by Abbott, may be noticed here. A star indicates the reading adopted by Müllenhoff in his edition.

6. 14 coniuncto* T ϕ (cuncto *in marg.*) A cuncto BHVMS
(cōiucto s.s. C2) C concto D
12, 7 flagicia A flagia T supplicia B *flagitia CD ϕ
13, 9 dignitatem A B *dignationem TCD ϕ
21, 10 defecere *ABT defecer& D defecerit C deficit ϕ
14 poposcerunt A poposceris (?) B *poposcerit TCDB ϕ
30, 12 romane* B romane A ϕ rōe T rōē D ratione CB (Müllenhoff, D. A. p. 411)
31, 16 rura B (*corr. to cura?*) A *cura TCD ϕ
34, 4 frisiis* AB frisis TCD fusis ϕ
38, 4 q̄ AT quā e² q̄ ϕ quam^u B *quamquam (q̄; q̄;) CD
43, 15 religionis* (regionis *in marg.*) T regionis C D ϕ
45, 32 exundant* AB ϕ exudant D exsudent TC
46, 11 pectum AB peditum TCB ϕ om. D *pedum *conj. by Lipsius*⁴

In this supplementary list of 12 instances, ϕ agrees with Y in 8, including mistakes at 21, 10; 34, 4; 43, 15; 46, 11. Taking, then, all our material into account, we find agreement between ϕ and Y at 71 out of 115 critical points, including 18 mistakes.

¹ If uicis is right (Waitz, Furneaux), CD and ϕ are nearer to the truth than ABT. Vicos is to be classed, at any rate, with the readings of C and D.

² Cultu is accepted by Furneaux, but whether right or wrong, is characteristic of Y.

³ Müllenhoff D. A. p. 505 and Schwyzer recognize ortus as the right reading; but again it is distinctive of Y as against X.

⁴ An examination of the orthography of the manuscript points to the same conclusion, though in this matter statistics should be used with caution. Omitting cases of *ae* and *oe*, which are regularly written *e* in ϕ , and adding to Abbott's list, p. 32, n. 48, the following instances, 27, 4 adicitur ABT adjicitur C *adicitur D ϕ ; 34, 13 tentavit AC tētavit B *temptavit D ϕ ; 37, 6 sescentessim* AB sexcentessim CT ϕ secentessim D, we find that ϕ agrees with Y in 26 out of 37 cases, including 12 mistakes.

Of the two representatives of the Y family, D is more closely connected with ϕ than C is, though it cannot be proved to have exerted a direct influence on ϕ . Neglecting minor coincidences, we may note the following: 2, 23 sint C] sūt D \dot{r} ϕ S: 25 etiam *om.* TC & D ϕ VMS; 10, 13 equorum quoque C] equorūq; D equo ψ q3 ϕ ; 15, 12 sed et CABT] sed D ϕ ; 20, 2 miramur C] mirantur D ϕ S; 27, 4 igni C] igitur D ϕ ; 28, 6 divisas C] diversas D ϕ B; 28, 17 Germanicae] germanici C germanię D germanie ϕ M; 36, 1 Chaucorum C] *om.* D et . . . quiescentibus Chaucorum *om.* ϕ ; 37, 17 deiectus C] derectus D ϕ S; 38, 13 innoxia] innoxie C inopie D ϕ S; 39, 8 prae se ferens C] pro se ferens D *cf.* proferens ϕ ; 42, 6 Quadisque usque C] usque *om.* D ϕ . These readings, it will be observed, are either found in other manuscripts as well, or due to simple scribal mistake. Thus in 10, 13; 15, 12; 42, 6 haplography is evident, and at 27, 4 an abbreviation is incorrectly resolved in either manuscript. With C, ϕ agrees in certain spellings, such as tanquam 12, 6 etc., quenque 20, 2 etc., and in these insignificant mistakes: 21, 16 facilitas D] facultas C ϕ P; 37, 21 Caesari D] Caesaris C Cesaris ϕ V; 39, 3 patrum SV] patrium ABD patrum C ϕ . While, therefore, ϕ is identified with the class Y, and stands nearer to D than to C, it does not show the immediate influence of either manuscript.

We have placed ϕ in the class Y and excluded it from E. Our proof must be completed by the demonstration that ϕ is not of the class X. This appears from a study of the errors of that class, some fifty according to Abbott's statement.¹ Of these the following appear in ϕ :

- 37, 1 situm ABTe² ϕ *sinum CD VSP finū M
 8 et ABTe² ϕ *ac CDVMS
 38, 4 \bar{q} ATquā e² \bar{q} ϕ quam^{via} B *quam quam (\bar{q} ; \bar{q} ;) CDVMS
 42, 7 mansere ABTe² ϕ HVMS *manserunt CD
 44, 1 ipse ATe² ϕ HP ipsae B *ipso (ipō) CDVMS
 oceanum ABM oceanum Te² VMS *oceano CDHB²

In two of these six cases, it may be after all that the reading of X is correct. At 37, 8 Schwyzer prefers et, and at 42, 7 Müllenhoff, D. A. p. 480, adopts the amply attested mansere; and supposing either reading correct, it will not be rash to call the other

¹ Op. cit. pp. 28-30.

² ϕ agrees with X in the following orthographical errors, which hardly need discussion: 14, 8 ocio; 37, 25 ocium.

reading an independent mistake in whatever manuscript it occurred. As for the other four mistakes, inasmuch as they occur not only in X but in the class E, which, as we have seen, is distinct from ϕ , we may safely assume either spontaneous errors in all three classes, or faulty variants transmitted from their common archetype. At 38, 4 any scribe might have been guilty of an haplography with $\bar{q} \bar{q}$ before him; the writer of B has emended such an error into *quamvis*. At 44, 1 more than one copyist might have forced *ipso* into agreement with the preceding *civitates*, while *oceanium* and *situm* are doubtless mistakes of the archetype or of the first apographum.¹

It thus appears that there is no direct connection between ϕ and the mistakes of X. If this is true of the entire class, we can argue a fortiori that it is true of either of the manuscripts in this class; and, in fact, I can find no coincidence whatsoever between ϕ and the peculiarities of either A or B. In contrast, we may glance once more at the far more numerous and significant errors common to ϕ and Y. The above evidence, I believe, warrants the conclusion that the archetype of ϕ and the other manuscripts of its group is a member of the class Y, and not of either X or E.

What shall we say, then, of the correct readings preserved by ϕ X and, in most cases, E but not found in either C or D? The list, which includes 35 cases, is as follows: ²

3, 13 *hodieque* H *VMS*] *hodie*

4, 2 *populos* *VMS*] *populis*

5 *quamquam* BT ϕ *quāq3* S $\bar{q} \bar{q}$ (al. *tan̄ in marg.*) A $\hat{q} \hat{q}$
V₂] *tamq̄3* M

¹ In case E and AB have no derived archetype in common, but go back independently to the first apographum (Abbott p. 41 regards either development as possible) we are bound to assume independent mistakes, or else variants in the apographum. If, on the other hand, E and AB are different branches of one tradition from the apographum, their own archetype doubtless contained the errors. Then the question arises as to a possible connection between ϕ and their archetype. But since none of the other errors common to X and E and none of their individual errors appear in ϕ , we may safely infer that the only significant cases here (37, 1 *situm*, 44, 1 *oceanium*) go back to variants (corrected mistakes) in the original apographum.

² The correct reading—that in Müllenhoff's edition—stands first, is always found in AB ϕ , and unless otherwise stated, in T. The incorrect reading is always found in CD. We have already seen that two possible errors of X (37, 8 *et* and 42, 7 *mansere*) are just as possibly correct. They might properly be included in the present list.

- 5, 7 eaeque Veęque TB eeque AφH heeq3 S] eatque C eātque
D atq3 M
- 6, 14 coniuncto Tφβφ (cuncto *in marg.*) A] cuncto BHVMS
(cōiucto ss. C₂)C concto D
16 aestimanti ABMS estimanti V extimanti T extimati φ]¹
existimanti
- 8, 3 precum] přeco
- 11, 3 pertractentur] praetractentur CV (p̄ to p̄tractētur) D
- 12, 1 concilium MS] consilium S₂
- 13, 13 primus] primum C p^m D
- 14, 2 adaequare AB adequare TφHVMS] equare CD
- 18, 11 aliquid] id D á C
12 hoc] hec
- 19, 9 invenerit ABφHV invenit T inven'it M invenitur S]
inuenit
- 25, 6 exequantur] exequantur
- 28, 13 commigraverint] comigraverunt
- 29, 3 populus ABε²HV ppfs φ] populis T
- 30, 12 romanae H romanę B romane AφV] rōe T rōe D ratione
Cβε²
- 19 propior ABTφ proprior S (-pior H₂) H] propiora VM
- 33, 11 nihil ABTφ nichil M michil (nihil *corr.* S₂) S] nil
- 34, 1 Angriuarios AT angrinarios B augrivarios M
augrinarios S agriuarios φ] anguiarios D angūarios C
- 35, 5 obtenditur ATφVS obtendit M optenditur B] obtendere
6 sinuetur ABφMS (sinat̃ *in marg.*) THV] sinatur
- 13 assequuntur ABTφ assequūtur M adsequunt̃ V] asse-
quantur S
- 40, 9 populis ABT pplos φ] propriis
- 41, 7 passim HV] passim et
- 43, 1 Osi Buri ABT (Siburi *in marg.*) H (Siburi *in marg.*
V₂) V (al. Siburi *in marg.* S₂) S osiburi φM] Osi Burii
2 Quadorumque MS] om. HV qdorumque
- 44, 4 frontem MS₂] fronte S
8 non M] nec CD nisi (non *corr.* S₂) S
- 45, 5 formasque HVMS fortunāq3 φ] formas
19 gignat HV] gignit

¹ See Abbott p. 25. I include this reading here, and likewise 34, 1; 39, 3; 40, 9; 43, 1; 45, 5, since φ although in some aspect erroneous in these places, avoids the particular mistake committed by CD.

- 32 exundant] exudant D exsudent TC
 37 differunt S differt̃ T] differuntur CDH differunt̃ (~del.
 V₂) V differūt M
 46, 28 corpora *MSV*] et corpora T e² CD.¹

How are we to explain this array of good readings? The general answer would be that they are the result of contamination, they were copied from X into a Y text. This is the method by which Wünsch has reduced to the ranks the Hummelianus, the Vindobonensis, the Monacensis, the Stuttgartiensis, the Parisinus—yes, the Harvard manuscript is already thrown out of the count along with that nestful of corrupt copies which Müllenhoff, too, considers of no value for the construction of the text.

If ϕ presents a contaminated text, it should bear some of the marks of contamination. B is an example of a text in process of contamination; in this manuscript a number of readings, cited by Müllenhoff as β , have been written in from a manuscript of the Y class. If a copy of B in its present state had been made in the fifteenth century, it would doubtless offer a contaminated text, now retaining the variants of β as glosses, now substituting them for the original text, now transforming that text into a gloss. In the Parisinus we find this process completed; we see illustrated here all the grades of alteration which we have imagined would appear in a copy of B + β . The manuscript is surely contaminated, as Wünsch declares it to be. The archetype of P and its companion codex, the Venetus, was a manuscript of the Y class, strikingly similar to D at many points. Wünsch² cites enough of them to prove his case; the reader may compare also the following coincidences in error. 12, 5 palude] plaude D p. aude (*a letter erased after p and l added after a by a later hand*) P; 22, 9 reconciliandis] reconciliatis DP Ven.; inimicis] inimicitijs DP Ven.; 28, 20 Triboci] treboci DP Ven.; 35, 12 virium] virium præcipuum DP Ven.; 40, 17 tunc] item DP Ven.; 43, 25 feralis] ferti-

¹ In the following 13 instances, ϕ agreeing with X corrects the orthography of CD. Again I have omitted cases of *ae* and *oe*. 9, 10 consecrant] consacrant; 16, 13 onerant] honerant; 25, 5 officia] offitia T; 27, 4 equus] equis T equi Ce² eq D; 30, 8 sollertiae A sollertie ϕ] solertiae BT; 33, 1 Tencteros ABT tenteros ϕ] thencteros D thenctēros C; 34, 13 sanctiusque ABT sanctius ϕ] santiusque; 43, 1 marcomanorum ABT marcomanno ψ ϕ] Marchomannorum; 45, 8 litore] littore; hostis] hostes; 18 litore] littore AT; 23 sucum A] succum TB; 32 litora B] littora AT.

² Herm. p. 53.

lis DP; 44. 10 in] neque DPVen.¹ In spite of this striking concordance, the archetype of the Parisinus and the Venetus was in all probability not copied from D, since the following mistakes and omissions in D—I select a few from the opening chapters—apparently do not occur in those manuscripts.² 2, 5 orbe] ore D; 13 conditoresque] conditorisque P Ven. conditoris D; 15 e] *om.* D; 5, 4 ferax] *om.* D; 7 eaeque] eātq. D; 6, 20 centeni (centerni P) . . . numerus] *om.* D. This archetype of the Parisinus and the Venetus, thus closely akin to D, but not copied from it, was then engrafted with various readings from a codex of E (not as Wünsch says AB) family.

This situation is plain, first, from a number of E variants that appear as glosses above the text on the margin of P and Ven. Examples are: 13, 4 vel pater vel propinqui A B] ut ipsi (ipsi e²) ut propinqui (vel p̄t *added in margin* T^a) T uel pater uel propinquus CD (al. uel ipsi propinqui *in margin*) P (uel ipsi uel propinqui *in margin*) Ven. 18, 19 sic vivendum, sic pereundum³ B (al. sic uiuentes sic parientes *in margin*) P sic uiuentes (uiuētes e²) sic parientes (pariētes e²) T; 22, 1 e somno CD (al. enim) P] enim somno AB (al. e) Ven. N somno T enī sompno e²; 24, 6 spectantium BT] expectantium ACD (l. spec- *above the line*) P; 38, 13 innoxia] inopiē D φ (innoxie *in margin*) P Ven. innoxiae e² innoxie ABTC. It will be noticed that some of these variants agree with the text of AB: Wünsch was justified from the material at his disposal in regarding the class X as the source of the inserted readings. But now that Abbott's study of the Toletanus has made clear the main characteristics of the E class, we can see at a glance that all the above variants might have come from E, and that some of them, as 13, 4; 18, 19, could not have come from any other source. We may logically, therefore, call them all E variants.

¹ The above list is proof positive that the archetype of CD was written in or before 1464, the date of the Venetus.

² It may be asserted that these deficiencies were corrected from the E manuscript. But the revision was by no means thorough-going. It failed to remedy such cardinal defects of CD as 3, 13 hodie; 6, 16 existimanti; 10, 17 hinnitus; 12, 1 consilium; 14, 2 equare; 30, 6 arcus; 38, 12 ligant; 41, 7 passim et.

³ We now have the form pereundum proved for the class Y. The various mistakes at this point go back to some rather unusual abbreviation in the archetype or the apographum.

Let us consider now a more violent sort of contamination. At 22, 1, it will be observed that while the E reading *enim* appears merely as a variant in the Parisinus, it has been substituted in the text of the Venetus for *e*, which latter is degraded to the secondary position above the line. The same interchange is illustrated in both manuscripts at 39, 14 corpore] CD tempore *in margin*] T *cf.* AB tempore (corpore *in margin*) P Ven., while at 28, 25 collocati] ACD ϕ (conlocati) B collati Te² (collocati *in margin*) P collocati (collati *in margin*) Ven. the transposition has been made in P but not in the Venetus.

Finally, at certain places the new reading has ousted the old for good and all. Such are 5, 21 affectione CD ϕ] affectatione TAB affectacione e² P; 6, 12 variare ACD ϕ] uarietate BP Ven. T (r added above t III) e²; 11, 10 nec ut iussi ABCD] ne iniussi T nec iniussi e² P nec iniussu Ven.: 18, 19 denuntiant BCD ϕ denūciant A] renuptiant (?) T renunctiāt e² renuntiant P Ven.; 25, 6 verberare ABCD] Verberant T Verberāt e² uerberare (al. rant *in margin*) P verbere (erare, erant *in margin*) Ven.; 37, 17 obiecerit ABC] obicit D obiecerūt e² obiecerunt TP Ven.

We may now review the process which the above facts clearly present. A manuscript of the CD type, closely akin to D but not copied from it, was provided with a set of variants from some codex of the E family. Two copies of such an improved text were independently made,¹ possibly a third—a manuscript of Cesena—² in which the variants were subjected to all the different treatments which one would imagine a priori possible, the two copies differing, naturally, at various points in their method of treatment. The resulting texts lie before us to-day in the Venetus and the Parisinus. As the former was written in 1464, the archetype of CD and that of the E manuscripts must date at least as early as that year.

Here then we have a patent instance of what a contaminated text is like. Does the above description, I ask, correspond to what we find in the Harvard manuscript? Certainly no scholar of the Renaissance revised the text of ϕ . It contains, as we have noted, several emendations, but these do not proceed from a learned brain; they are the kind the scribe makes when he drops asleep. They are not dangerous emendations—they will never be adopted by an editor. What indications are there that the text has been revised from one of the other classes? We have

¹ See Wünsch, *Hermes* p. 54.

² *Ibid.*

noted that not an error which can positively be called peculiar to either X or E appears in ϕ . This is an all-important point. Wünsch¹ in his analysis of HVM and S, finds the fact suspicious that these codices "choose" from AB and CD precisely the readings that a scholar would choose to-day—the good ones. But, leaving these codices out of consideration for the moment, we should certainly expect to find a few mistakes taken over, if the Harvard manuscript were revised in this fashion. Abbott² finding the same phenomena in T, draws the different conclusion that "it is inconceivable that a copyist or a scholar of the fifteenth century should have been able to choose correctly between two different readings in 80% of the cases before him". If this argument holds for T, it ought to hold for any manuscript presenting the same conditions. At least we should expect a few clear instances of inserted error in ϕ , such as we find even among the not extensive array of readings added by β to B from a CD source.³ Those are 15, 6 *hebent, mira diversitate*] *habent* (BMV (*corr.* V); *hnt C*) *mira*^m *diversitate*^m β ; 28, 6 *divisas*] *diversas* β D ϕ ; 28, 11 *Aravisci*] *aranisci* $\beta\phi$; 39, 12 *parentia*] *patentia* β .⁴ Error is still more noticeable in the variants selected for the archetype of the Parisinus and the Venetus. Mistakes are found in all but two of the thirteen altered passages quoted above, and others may be gleaned from Wünsch's collation. In contrast with such texts as these, the Harvard manuscript presents not one of the errors peculiar to either X or E.

Something may be learned from a perusal of the variants given in ϕ or postulated by its text for its archetype. It is agreed on all hands that the ancient archetype or its first copy contained variant readings which account for some of the diversities in the existing manuscripts. Abbott gives a table (p. 33) showing the chief variants preserved by AB and T, and regards the tendency to retain such variants as one of the special excellencies of T. Now there are obviously two kinds of variants, one resulting from

¹ Diss. p. 120.

² Op. cit. p. 30. Cf. also Reitzenstein, op. cit. pp. 313, 316.

³ Müllenhoff, D. A. p. 64.

⁴ Müllenhoff *ibid.* prefers to call 15, 6 and 39, 12 emendations. 15, 6 is clearly such, not so certain is the other case, while 28, 6 and 28, 11 came plainly from the CD text. In fact, the emendation at 15, 6 may have been already in β 's original, since *habent* which appears in various manuscripts, may well have been there.

the preservation of the archetype's reading,¹ the other due to contamination between two branches of descendants from the archetype. The former is illustrated by T and A, the latter by P and Ven. Let us examine, then, the character of the variants in ϕ .

We may note, first of all, that certain of the good readings in ϕ not given by CD² may be due to the preservation of variants neglected by those manuscripts. The following are cases in point: 4, 5 *quamquam*. Here S and ϕ take the correct, but CDM the incorrect variant. V, also, follows the mistaken form, but V₂, a manuscript of the same character as the archetype of V,³ adds *quamquam*. At 6, 14, only AT ϕ and β are correct, the testimony of the last source being important, as it assists ϕ in proving the right reading for Y. The incorrect variant *cuncto*, reported by A, is followed by all the other manuscripts, appearing as *concto* in D. At 35, 6, CD again take the incorrect variant *sinatur*, ϕ has the correct *sinuetur* with ABMS, while THV preserve the double form from the archetype. There remain three important cases which I have not yet cited. The first is 39, 1 *Semnones* H *Semnones* ϕ *Semones* (*Sennones written in the margin* II *Semnones written above the line* III) e² (*Semnones in m.*) TV (-*nones corr.* S₂) S (*† Señones above the line* (A *señones* B *Semones* CD (*Semores erased*) M. Here the incorrect form in ABCD derives from the wrong variant. The right form is given by HS₂ III₂ and (the essential part) by ϕ , while TV have retained the double reading. A noticed it, but made a mistake in copying it (cf. II₂), while it is hard to say whether B intended to insert the superscribed *m* or to substitute it for *n*. Another significant reading is 40, 5 *Suardones* $\phi\beta$ H: *Suarines* ABCDe² (*Suardones in m.*) TV *suarmes seu suardones* (*suardones in m.* S₂) S *Smarines* M. The unquestionably right reading *Suardones* doubtless accompanied *Suarines* in the archetype,⁴ but ABCD all select the wrong variant. ϕ is correct with H, S₂ (a manuscript of the HV type⁵) and β , here again an important source for Y, while TVS give the double reading. Lastly, we may compare 45, 8: *Sueuici* ϕ S (*suionici in m.*) β *Seuici* BM (*Sueuici in m.*)

¹ Some of these doubtless were not in the archetype, but merely in the first copy of the archetype, the readings of which at various points had been first misunderstood and then corrected.

² See the list at p. 314, above.

³ See Wünsch, Diss., p. 74 f.

⁴ Müllenhoff, D. A., p. 85 f.; Abbott, p. 36; Reitzenstein, p. 314.

⁵ See Wünsch, Diss. p. 109.

T Saeuici (sueuici *written above the line* III) e¹ († sueuici *above the line* B (sueuici *in m.*) V Saeuici D († sueuici *ss.* C₂) C. No manuscript has the correct Suebici, but φ, S, C₂ and, again, β have sueuici, BMCD seuici (*or* saeuici) and TAV the double set. Incidentally, if this practise is virtue in T and A, why not in V and S as well? To turn now from the assuredly correct readings, various of the mistakes, or doubtful readings in φ not found in CD, become clear if the testimony of the variants in T and A be invoked. Compare Abbott's tables (p. 33) and collation for the following cases: 26, 7 laborare; 36, 9 aduersarios; 38, 16 armantur—which may be correct;¹ 39, 3 statuto; 4 nois; 41, 2 proprior HVM; 45, 5 eorum. This last, according to Müllenhoff,² is the reading of the ancient manuscript, while deorum is merely a conjecture of its discoverer.

The above readings, both false and true, owe their existence in φ to variants in the archetype or its first copy. Now let us consider the variants in φ itself. There are only three of them, all in the same hand as the text. 1, 10 Abnobae] arnobe (aī arbone *in m.*) φ *cf.* AT; 2, 12 Tuisconem] Tyisconem (aī tisonem ρ tuisman [tuisinan?]) φ *cf.* A; 8, 11 Albrunam (aurimā [aī albrimā]) φ *cf.* AT. This, then, is the character of the variants in φ. They fall short of the number preserved in A and T, but several readings in φ are derived from these latter, while the variants present accord with those in A and T. At 2, 12 φ gives three forms for the proper name, whereas A has but one variant and T none at all. Those are not the kind of double readings that we have noted in the Venetus and the Parisinus.

If, now, the reader will glance at the list of good readings not in CD but preserved in φ,³ he will observe that with a very few exceptions those which accord with AB are likewise found in T. The only exceptions⁴ are:

- 29, 3 populus ABφ Rd e²] populus TCD
- 45, 32 exundant ABφ Rd e²] exudant D exsulant TC
- 46, 28 corpora ABφ] et corpora T Rd e² CD

The first two of these readings contain easy slips that might well have occurred independently, and the testimony of e², which

¹ See Reitzenstein, p. 316, n. 10.

² Op. cit., p. 69.

³ Above, p. 46.

⁴ On 30, 12, which might possibly be considered here, see below, p. 59.

we may safely infer from Roediger's careful collation, and o Rd, verified by Professor Warren, proves that they did. The third case in view of the concurrent testimony of T, e² and Rd, can hardly belong in the category of spontaneous error. But since, with this exception, a manuscript of the E class might have contained all the good readings considered in our list at p. 314, it is just as reasonable to look for their source in E as in X. To which source shall we turn? Doubtless to neither. Doubtless not to their common archetype—in case there existed an intermediate link between X and E and the apographum.¹ Inasmuch as ϕ shows no significant concordance with the characteristic mistakes of either class, and as its variants reveal no trace of contamination, strict logic forces the conclusion that its good readings come not from X or from E, *but from the archetype of Y*.

Another glance at the list of these readings will reveal the fact that most of those not already discussed are of a very simple character—populis for populos, excitatio for exercitatio, exequantur for exequantur—blunders that occur in the best of texts. More serious mistakes are 5, 7 eaeque] eatque C (confusion of *e* and *t*) eātque D (an attempt to emend this slip); 8, 3 precum] preco; 14, 2 adaequare] equare (possibly ad was written above the line); 18, 11 aliquid] á C id D (apparently the original had an unusual abbreviation for aliquid); at 30, 12 the archetype must have read romanae, it seems to me, despite Müllenhoff's later views². The apographum may have abbreviated rōe, possibly with the fuller form added above the line, on second thought, for the sake of clearness. Whether this was done or not, a scribe of the fifteenth century could expand rōe into romane or ratione at will. I may add here three cases of error in CD which have not concerned us before. The first in 34, 2 Chasuarij ϕ HMS] Thasuarii A Te² tasuarii B Chasudrii D occasuarii C. Here the correct form Chasuarii passed down in ϕ HMS, D making an easy confusion of a and d, hence Chasudrii, while C prefixes a syllable—possibly for ac, an incorporated mistake for the preceding et. AB and T either independently mistake c for t—a perfectly possible occurrence—or as Reitzenstein suggests,³ the archetype already had $\dot{c}h$, a mistaken correction. The second case is 37, 16: et ipse ϕ HVM] et ipso et ipse ADTCD in ipō et ipē S.

¹ See above, p. 46, n. 2.

² D. A. p. 411. Furneaux in his recent text adheres to Romanae.

³ Op. cit., p. 314.

Here the copyist of the ancient manuscript either committed or reproduced a natural blunder (ipse assimilated to the sound of the preceding amisso or the following Pacoro) and may or may not have emended the error by placing dots beneath et ipso—or perhaps he failed to copy this sign of correction. Most manuscripts reproduce all the words. ϕ HVM, not necessarily emending, but possibly following the instructions of the copyist who made the blunder, are careful to avoid it. The third case, a striking one, is 38, 12. Here ABT are correct with religatur, while CD give ligant. The origin of this error seems explained by the reading in ϕ RbfF¹ ne legant (Rb *in marg.* c° relegant). Starting with re ligat or religat (cf. S as reported by Müllenhoff D. A. p. 77), in which the initial *r* perhaps resembles an *n*, we find two classes of the manuscripts, X and E, rightly including the superscribed—or detached—syllable and rightly interpreting the abbreviation.² But in the manuscripts outside these classes, we find that all resolve at into ant, some, as H MS, reproduce re correctly, while others as V and the archetype of CD, omit the syllable, perhaps because unintelligible. But the copyist of the archetype of ϕ with ne legant reproduced what he thought he found. In short, these places, where C and D are together in error, do not point back to an archetype hopelessly corrupt, which would need restoratives from some alien source; they postulate rather an original containing in itself the explanation of most of the readings, false and true, which appear in its descendants.

Though I believe the foregoing facts furnish sufficient proof, we may now definitely exclude AB as a possible source for ϕ , by the consideration that in certain places ϕ is correct where both CD and AB go astray. These places are:

19, 5 abscisis ϕ TSV] abscisis M adscisis A accisis BC accissis D
28, 7 hercyniam $\phi\beta$ Te²] hercuniam (y added above u V₂) V
Hircyniam A hircyniam (y from i) B hircinā CD
Hercynam C₂

Here belong also the variants discussed above at p. 320; 39, 1 Semnonēs, 40, 5 Suardonēs, 45, 8 Sueuici.

¹ Massmann's readings are probably correct here, as Professor Warren has verified that of Rb.

² At least according to Müllenhoff's text. But many will approve Furneaux's preference for religant.

I cannot point to so many clear cases where ϕ is right with AB against TCD or right alone against all these manuscripts, but the following at least call for mention.

34, 2 Chasuarij. See p. 322. This would be a clear case if Reitzenstein did not report the correct form for ρ . Still it is yet to be proved that ρ is an unadulterated specimen of the E class. Rd has $\tau\eta\upsilon\alpha$ thosuarii.

37, 16 et ipse. See p. 322.

46, 28 uoltusque corpora. See p. 321 f.¹

How are we to account for these good readings, few though they be, of which some are not in E, others are not in AB, and none are in CD? Are they the conjectures of the scribe who emends merita to inclita, Dulcubuni to Dulciboni? We might claim them for some humanist who interfered with the tradition before it reached the copyist of the archetype of ϕ and its associates—but such a corrector, if we do not desert the evidence immediately at hand, is poetically imagined rather than logically deduced. Shall we call these readings the lucky errors of a stupid scribe? I should hesitate, once more, to put faith in any good reading found only in the present text, but the instances cited receive the report of other manuscripts—outside the magic circle, to be sure, of AB and CD. But we need not devote further discussion to these few cases. The fact is plain that ϕ , though full of individual error, has none of the characteristic mistakes of either X or E, and shows no traces of contamination or of learned emendation. I do not hesitate, therefore, to regard the group of which ϕ is a member as an important source for the text of Y.

Supposing that we had no other manuscripts of the Y class but CD and ϕ , the latter codex would assist the other two in exalting their archetype considerably above that of A and B. The mistakes of AB, according to Abbott's calculation,² excluding the 40 errors of the archetype,³ would amount to 49; those of

¹ ϕ gives a correct orthography with A or B against TCD in the following cases (see p. 316, n. 1) 25, 5 officia; 27, 4 equus; 30, 8 sollertiae; 45, 18 litore, 23 sucum, 32 litora. In the following, ϕ , agreeing with some other manuscript, corrects the orthography of ABCDT; 39, 13 adicit MV; 45, 6 adicit V; 26 clauduntur H; 33 temptes HVM tēptes S₂.

² Op. cit., p. 30.

³ Ibid., p. 24—a list from which we now may strike 37, 16 (?); 39, 13; 45, 6; 45, 33, and at 45, 5 replace deorum by eorum.

CD, to 51. To this list we might make certain additions from the cases discussed above at p. 43, and from it make certain deductions of doubtful cases; the resulting proportions, however, would remain substantially the same, and justify Müllenhoff's vigorous avowal,¹ "dass nur ein ausgesuchter Querkopf sich bei der Feststellung des Textes auf Bb (= X) gegen Cc (= Y) als verderbt und interpoliert steifen kann". But since now with the help of ϕ we may erase from this tradition some forty of the blunders of CD—counting in a few corrections of ABCD and of T as well—the classes are no longer on the same plane. X musters something over fifty errors, Y has now about fifteen. The former class still presents more variants than the latter, but counting those added by ϕ and those to which its readings take us back, we find fully half of the cases included in Abbott's table (p. 33) now represented in Y.² Finally, I may add that the correct title of the work may be given only by the class Y. I do not wish to raise again this much disputed question, except to point out that the title cited by Pier Candido Decembrio³ from what may be the ancient archetype itself is *De Origine et situ Germanie*. This form appears, so far as I can ascertain, only in C and ϕ . ϕ differs from C in not interpolating a praenomen for the author.⁴

If the class Y can receive such assistance from an apparently unpromising manuscript like ϕ , perhaps we may hope that some evidence may yet be garnered from those codices, which, since the publication of Wünsch's dissertation, have played little part in the textual criticism of the *Germania*—H, V, M and S. The permanent value of Wünsch's thorough and methodical treatise consists in his proof that all extant codices of the *Germania* depend on the "apographum Henochianum", that there is no separate tradition directly descended from the ancient manuscript, unalloyed with Italian perversions, and represented, as Holder believed, by the Hummelianus. But this point accepted, Wünsch's further estimate of the Hummelianus and the other manuscripts may now be examined afresh. Unless further proof can be brought that any or all of them show evidence of contamination as marked as in the *Parisinus* and the *Venetus*, they may be accepted as trustworthy representatives of the text.

¹D. A., p. 69. Cf. also Wünsch, *Diss.*, p. 124.

²Cf. Müllenhoff's remarks, *op. cit.* pp. 68, 72.

³See Sabbadini in *Rivista di Filologia*, 1901, p. 262.

⁴See Müllenhoff, *D. A.*, p. 99.

That they are in essence of the Y type is shown by Wünsch.¹ That they do not concord in important details with the characteristic mistakes of X or E is obvious from a glance at Wünsch's collations, and his lists on pages 43 f., and 116 ff. The variants which they preserve do not suggest contamination but seem rather of the nature of those in A and T. The above statements are based on general impressions, not on a thorough study of those manuscripts; perhaps further examination might prove one or more of them contaminated. Yet since Wünsch's chief argument for contamination—the presence of both AB and CD readings—loses its point after the establishment of the Class E (which Wünsch accepts) and the reconstruction of the Class Y (if my present reasoning gain approval), then these rejected codices at least deserve a fresh examination.

Thus far I have made only casual reference to Müllenhoff's later discussion of the manuscripts of the *Germania* in his *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV (1900) pp. 63 ff. Müllenhoff there reacted completely from the prevalent tendency to find contamination everywhere except in AB and CD, recognized the deficiencies of these classes, and sought to establish two more, which he called D and E. He called attention to Vaticanus 4498, a manuscript closely related to CD, but, since it lacks many of their errors, an important source for reconstructing this branch of the tradition. He likewise estimated correctly the merits as well as the defects of the group to which ϕ belongs, but concluded that its testimony is not needed.²

Here certainly are sketched the lines along which future criticism of the text of the *Germania* should proceed. But Müllenhoff divined his classes rather than established them. After Abbott's study of the Toletanus, we may regard the class E as fixed, though the examination of R¹, Rd, Re and Reitzenstein's ρ may help define its minor characteristics more exactly, but Müllenhoff's class D cannot be accepted on faith, or, granting this class, his inclusion of Vaticanus 4498 in the CD group and not in D—in a word, the line of demarcation between the classes C and D is not clearly drawn. I have therefore not appealed to the authority of Müllenhoff's later views until now, seeking first to establish in a special case the general attitude to the so-called contaminated manuscripts, which underlies his new classification

¹ Diss. pp. 78, 120.

² Cf. above p. 37.

There is a further possibility to consider. I have treated ϕ thus far as descended from the same original as CD, inasmuch as both are members of the class Y. This is a warrantable procedure, so long as we have to reckon only with AB, CD and the E manuscripts. What is proved is that ϕ is not AB and not E; of the three groups just named, therefore, it is obviously most nearly related to CD and can be used to reconstitute the text of that group. But if now we may appeal to the Hummelianus, the Stuttgartiensis, and the other manuscripts exiled by Wünsch, new problems arise. Here, too, if we may trust Müllenhoff's intuitions and our own, are manuscripts not AB and not E and not contaminated. What are their relations to CD, ϕ and to each other? It may be that all are descended from the same copy of the original apographum, and represent, therefore, different branches of one class Y. Yet it may be that these branches go back independently to the apographum. We have proved rather their diversity from AB and E than their concordance with one another. For example, Müllenhoff, in discussing S, declares¹ that since this manuscript agrees with CD at 9, 3 *Herculem ac Martem* and in the position of 25, 9-14, "so bedarf es weiter keines Beweises dass sie zur zweiten Handschriftenklasse gehört und mit cg (= CD) von derselben Grundhandschrift abstammt". But this means merely that S avoids characteristic mistakes of AB. We need accurately defined lists of these characteristic mistakes to distinguish the different branches of the tradition. Abbott is right, it seems to me, in admitting at least the possibility that the E manuscripts, though closely related to B, descend not from an intermediate archetype of X and E, but from the apographum itself. Further investigation may prove more than one direct tradition among the manuscripts outside AB and E. So our conclusion that ϕ is of the same class with CD—though the only one warranted by our present knowledge of the facts—must be stated provisionally.

Perhaps external indications may help determine the pedigree of the different groups of manuscripts. Wünsch has suggested a promising clue in the fact that certain codices are connected in different ways with Aeneas Sylvius, Pope Pius II, whose letter to Martin Mayer, dated February 1, 1458, is the first document after the rediscovery of the *Germania* to show the influence of that

¹ D. A. p. 76.

work.¹ Wünsch² shows that the Stuttgart codex is doubtless related to the copy made for Pope Pius, both because it contains the *Liber Augustalis* of Rambaldi, continued to 1457 by Aeneas Sylvius himself, and because the text of the *Germania* has certain readings which appear in the treatise written to Martin Mayer. Wünsch also points out³ that two of the little group to which ϕ belongs—the *Laurentianus* and the *Angelicus*—contain the *Elegy* of Franciscus Aretinus on Pius II, and the same scholar's translation of the letters of Diogenes, with a poetical introduction addressed likewise to the Pope. In both the manuscripts these works stand after the *Germania*. Now ϕ , as we have seen, contains the *Liber Augustalis*—although without the additions of Pius II—and it also shows the following coincidences with significant readings of the Stuttgart manuscript: 11, 9 diem] dum ϕ dū S; 20, 12 hunc] hñ ϕ habet S; 22, 2 calida] calida aqua; 14 adhuc] ad hoc; 28, 16 affectationem] affectionem; 29, 15 ipso] ipse ϕ ipē S; 40, 18 satiatam] sacratā ϕ sacratu S; 45, 3 in ortum edurat] in ortu sedurat ϕ in ortu se durat S; 46, 1 Peucinatorum] Prucinatorum ϕ Prutinatorum S; 3 Peucini] prugini ϕ prutini S. These readings alone show that there must be some further connection between the archetypes of S and the manuscripts with which ϕ belongs. That the latter is not copied from the former is plain from the omissions in S, such as 23, 7 haud minus facile; 30, 5 simul; 46, 25 securi adversus deos, and the list of mistakes given by Wünsch.⁴ The importance of recovering or reconstructing the text which lay before Aeneas Sylvius in 1458 needs no further emphasis.⁵ If the group of which ϕ is a member can contribute to that end, it will acquire, despite its many mistakes, something more than the temporary importance I have tried to prove for it as an auxiliary to CD. The archetype of this group is of early date, since the *Angelicus*, the worst of the lot, was written in 1466.⁶ With this archetype, it would seem, we have now to compare that of the Stuttgart manuscript, which also was written in or before 1466, and which presents a much purer text than ϕ .

¹ See Voigt, *Wiederbelebung d. klass. Alt.* I p. 256, note.

² Diss. p. 120.

³ *Hermes*, p. 56.

⁴ Diss. p. 114.

⁵ Cf. Lehnerdt, *Hermes* XXXIII (1898) p. 502. Lehnerdt also shows (p. 503) that V belongs in the circle of MSS connected with Pius II, since it was written (in 1466), for his friend Johann Hinderbach, Bishop of Trent.

⁶ Massmann, p. 17 (Rf). Tagmann, op. cit. p. 19, thinks that F may have been written shortly before 1464.

The most immediately pressing problems, therefore, in the textual criticism of the *Germania* are first, it seems to me, the determination of the archetype of ϕ and its kindred texts, and then a comparison of this archetype with the *Stuttgartiensis*. Perhaps Müllenhoff's construction of a Class D may prove good divination after all; and perhaps Alfred Holder, whose gentle courtesy to his opponents has been as conspicuous in the present controversy as in all his scholastic relations, may find editors of the *Germania* paying more attention to the *Hummelianus* than of late.¹

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¹ If future research can establish more definitely than at present the classes and sub-classes of the *Germania* MSS and correlate these with the tradition of the *Dialogus* and Suetonius' *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, more light will be thrown on the nature of the ancient archetype. One fact may be noted now concerning the archetype of D. At 28, 14 we have in this manuscript the peculiar mistake, *olim ruli*. Evidently *olim* stood at the end of the line. The scribe, then, by mistake skipped a line, and started off with *ruli*, the latter part of *Nervii* (the MSS have *Neruli*), l. 16, which thus must have headed the second line below. This gives us 74 letters and spaces for two lines, or 37 for a line. Fortunately the scribe makes the same kind of slip in two other places. At 24, 1, *cetu spectaculorum*, he began again the line he had just finished (38 letters and spaces), and at 24, 11, *iuvénior de corpore contédât* he went back a line (73 letters and spaces for two lines). We must allow something, of course, for abbreviations, but the above facts show pretty exactly the length of line in the archetype of D—something to bear in mind if it should seem necessary to derive some other MS immediately from that archetype.